1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

There is a certain number of commoners who seem to be related, not to the modern great chiefs, but to the ancient chiefs who have become submerged politically. Examples of such submerged chiefs are Mahina, Puakatea, and Takalatea of Vavau, who, though subjects of the Tui Tonga, were conquered by the ambitious Tui Kanokupolu Vuna. 565 622 602

It is considered bad form in Tonga to-day to name people as commoners unless the person who is giving the information is of high rank. For one commoner to name others as commoners is improper and also unwise, incurring enmity. 565 576

A good example of the relationship which prevails between a chief and the people who inhabit his hereditary lands is presented on the island of Okoa, Vavau. The overlord is the Tui Lakepa, who also owns the neighboring island of Ofu and has holdings in Tongatabu. The mayor of Okoa is Afu Haa Mango, a matapule, a relative of the Tui Lakepa. An earlier Tui Lakepa had a daughter, Kaufusi, who was the mother of Shadrach Afu Haa Mango. Kaufusi had brothers Nautu, Masiu, Kalau, Paulalolo, and Ilai. These brothers are the grandfathers of the inhabitants of Okoa and Ofu. The people living in the Tui Lakepa's *tofia* in Tongatabu, are also his relatives and the relatives of the Okoans. 622 565

The relation which subsists between a person of high rank and that person's inferior relatives is revealed by the following: A woman of high rank, closely related to the last Tamaha and sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho, now resides in Vavau, the home of her mother now deceased. She had a number of servants about her home, all of whom she said were her relatives on her mother's side. When she resides in Haapai, relatives from her father's side of the family serve her. She said that anciently the servants of chiefs were invariably their relatives not unrelated commoners. She strongly emphasized the bond of blood between the highest chiefs and the commoners. 565 602 622

Many a commoner treasures the link of genealogy that connects him with some high chief. Thus Peter Koloamatangi claimed Tui Tonga blood, because his paternal grandfather was brother's son of a Tamaha.

The word *fanautaina* (child of the village) means a child born of a woman of a particular locality, begotten of a chief. At times a handsome girl was taken to a chief in order to bring chiefly blood to a place. A child is reckoned as belonging to the place of its father or its mother according to its residence, but still the blood bond with the village to which they belong is recognized and can be utilized. All people of such a village would speak of themselves as related to the chief, although many of them were not. 622 602 837 [611]

Most Tongan informants are agreed that in spite of the wide range of social standing, the Tongan population of to-day is of one origin and is not comprised of immigrants (conquerors) and indigenes (conquered). The 829 186

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The inequalities of rank are regarded not as the result of rule imposed by conquerors, but as the result of rules of primogeniture within the family and of differences in ability of chiefs. As one informant put it, "Some men possessed ability to rule and became rulers. The strong man became king, the wise man became the matapule, the weakling became the commoner." No doubt this statement is a rationalization, but the belief in community of origin of the three social classes is prevalent in Tonga to-day. If the country was ever overrun by conquering immigrants, all memory of their coming has been effaced. There is, however, ample evidence to show a continual dribbling into the country of people from surrounding islands.

There is probably less attachment of commoners to their chiefly relatives to-day than there was in the past. In fact, with the absence of internecine warfare and with the freedom bestowed by constitutional government, the people may move about with greater liberty and need not adhere closely to their related overlords. However, there is still a strong attachment to the chiefs and to the land and even with the present system of leasing land the tendency is for a family to remain attached to the soil, the tract which a father leased being likewise leased by one of his sons.

To understand the system of apparent servitude which prevailed in Tonga, three features of family relationships should be kept in mind: (a) the superior rank of sisters; (b) the superior rank of older siblings; and (c) the *fahu* idea. To the demands of the *fahu* of a great chief, that chief and his dependants were obliged to accede. Thus all of the descendants of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and to the commoners of that lineage. In other words the whole of the district of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is obliged to yield its best to the great *fahu* of the chiefs of the district, who here is the Prince Consort Tungi.

INDICATIONS OF RANK

The relative rank of individuals is visualized in seating arrangements, particularly in the kava circle, but also in the house, both at meal times and on other occasions.

The head of the household, the family patriarch, called *ulu oe kainga* (*ulu*, head; *oe*, of; *kainga*, related) was accustomed to sit midway between the two house posts (fig. 2, *a*), at the end which he used as a sleeping chamber, facing the opposite end. This position was called *matuloki*. All other sitting places were called *lotofale* (inside house). If the head of the house ranked all his guests, he maintained his position. His highest ranking guest sat at his right hand and the next in rank at *c*. The positions *a*, *b*, *c*, were reserved for chiefs. Matapules would sit at the other end of the house, *d*. Commoners would not dare to sit in the house. If the guest should

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

gans, not foreigners. This foreign origin does not militate against relationship with the modern chiefs and commoners of Tonga. The matapules have become thoroughly amalgamated with the population through intermarriage.

The reason assigned for the employment of foreigners as matapules is that they are exempt from the tapu which separate a Tongan chief and his purely Tongan relatives. Thus Hoakai (Soakai), a matapule to the Tui Tonga, was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan might do.

Unlike commoners, few matapules were killed by chiefs for offenses. Furthermore, a matapule might leave a chief and go to another for greater reward, though returning to the first chief incurred death. Tongan commoners might be raised to what was virtually matapule rank by being given titles for prowess in war, industry in agriculture, or success in fishing.

The three great influxes of matapules are traditionally connected with the entry into Tonga of three persons of high rank. From Fiji in the reign of Tuitatui, came Tui Motuliki (afterwards called Tui Talau), the putative supernatural child of the two Maui (Atalanga and Kisikisi). With him came other Fijians who became matapules of the Tui Tonga. Tui Motuliki and his followers were warmly welcomed (50, pp. 140-142). Quite likely later, and probably about 1600, a great influx of Samoans was signalized by the marriage of the Samoan lady Tohuia to the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga. A little later came Tapuosi, the Fijian Tui Lakepa, with a following of chiefs and matapules. (See Hocart, 32.) In addition to these three important accretions there was doubtless an intermittent dribbling in of foreigners. (See list p. 504.)

Of particular interest is the matapule Kama (Samoan, Ama). He is a descendant of that Ama who was the father of Tohuia, the wife of the Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and the mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata. The present matapule Kama, is addressed as grandfather by all of the chiefs of the Haa Tui Kanokupolu, because Ama of Safata, Samoa, was the grandfather of Ngata the first Tui Kanokupolu. The chief Ama of Samoa came first to Tonga, perhaps near the end of the Sixteenth Century, and was followed by his daughter Tohuia, who became the mother of Ngata. The present Kama does not know whether Ama the chief remained in Tonga or returned to Samoa; nor does he know how the Tongan Kama became matapule, but thinks it was because they were foreigners. Kama and his son visited the predecessor of the present Ama in Samoa in 1894. Ama was much annoyed that his relatives in Tonga ranked only as matapule, and told them that they were the descendants of the elder of two brothers, while the Samoan Ama were the descendants of the younger brother. For that reason the visiting Kama was given the chief's kava while in Samoa. The Kama in Tonga have always been appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

him talking to the *tevolo*, and if surprised at his work in the bush he will either make a wizard of his unwelcome visitor or else cause him to sicken and die. The informant also said that if a sorcerer is reported to his fellow townsmen he may be killed by anyone who wishes, and his relatives dare not avenge his death.

The two Nomuka informants said that although people were bewitched by means of leaves in the possession of the sorcerer, that there were other ways of accomplishing the result, as follows:

> The sorcerer may carry leaves of the various sorts, usually pulverized, inside of a bamboo tube, the powdered material to be placed in cigarettes for the victim, or the sorcerer may carry the tube of pulverized leaves under his belt ready for use. Perhaps he sits beside his victim laughing and smoking in apparent friendliness and when opportunity offers points the cane secretly at his victim. This is enough to cause the victim's death in a day or two. Another method is to bury the bamboo tube, with the poison in it before the victim's door or under his bed. A sorcerer discovered in the act would be killed at once. Sometimes the sorcerer takes a cigarette butt thrown away by the victim, and puts it with the deadly leaves, and buries it whole where the victim perhaps is planting yams.

Sorcery of this nature is said to be non-effective against Caucasians, because they eat more salt than Tongans. The two Nomuka informants knew of none of their relatives being bewitched, but said that they had heard of witchcraft among other people.

> Once a person is bewitched only the sorcerer can save him. The victim may suspect the sorcerer and visit him or get his relatives to, in order to beg for mercy. If the sorcerer relents he either exposes the bamboo tube to the sun or he changes the contents of the tube. If he makes a mistake in changing the leaves, he, as well as the victim, dies.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following anecdote concerning an attempt at causing death by supernatural aid, at Lifuka Island, Haapai, about 1915.

> Whilst busy packing bananas, the other day, a native named Malakai came running into the yard and asked whether his stepson Lisala was there and if he had been packing bananas. On being told that he had filled a couple of cases and had gone to get more bananas, he demanded wildly to see the stalks of Lisala's bunches and on somebody's pointing them out he declared that they were stolen from his plantation. Taking one of the stalks in his hand and waving it around his head dramatically, he announced his intention of going and placing it in the church, in order to cause the sudden and painful death of his stepson. While he was declaring thus, his wife—the mother of Lisala—came on the scene, and pleaded forgiveness for the wayward son. At last the mother's entreaties prevailed and the two went off together. Immediately after their departure Lisala came out of hiding from the back of the copra shed and calmly filled up another case with stolen bananas.

SICKNESS FROM SUPERNATURAL CAUSES

Misdeeds on the part of a member of a family are believed to result in afflictions for one or more other members of the family, as illustrated by the two following modern occurrences. (See also 11, pp. 136-142.)

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

people; for it is not only to those who are old, both in years and wisdom, that such respect is paid, but every aged man and aged woman enjoys the attentions and services of the younger branches of society. Great love and respect for parents is another prominent mark of their character; and, indeed, it must be so, as it arises out of a two-fold motive: i. e. they pay respect on the score of parentage, and on that of superior chiefship or rank. Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz. by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

The same principle of love and respect for parents and superiors engages every man to secure and defend his hereditary rights as another point of religious duty, and in honour to the memory of his ancestors, from whom he received them. By a farther extension of the same sentiment, he loves the island on which he was born, in particular, and all the Tonga islands generally, as being one country, and speaking one language. But the *amor patriæ*, in the more extended sense, cannot be supposed to prevail in a very high degree, for, having no wars with foreigners, the opportunities for the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

excitement and growth of this passion are not very frequent; nevertheless, in the history of the war at Vavaoo, we shall discover proofs of the existence of this noble sentiment, as well as in the life of Toobó Nuha, and in the death of the late king, who lamented that he left the country in a critical situation. The present king, and his uncle Finow Fiji, are, no doubt, patriots in the best sense of the word.

Honour is another principle upon which we must speak; but, in regard to which, it is difficult to give the just character of the Tonga people. That they are honourable, in many respects, there can be no doubt; and that, in other respects, they do things which are, seemingly, at least, very dishonourable, there can be as little question. It was agreeable to every generous and honourable sentiment in Teoo Cava's men, to help him out of the ditch at the peril of their own lives; or in Mr. Mariner's four companions, to save him at the same risk. It was honourable in the late king, who was a very passionate man, and expected to be obeyed, to receive in good part, and readily to excuse, Mr. Mariner's refusal, on many occasions, to conform to orders that were not consistent with his principles. It was honourable in the Vavaoo people to have so much respect for the memory of their late chief, Toobó Nuha, as to resent his

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Myths and Tales

COMPILED BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The printing press has undoubtedly done more to preserve the extant Tongan myths and legends than has oral transmission. Fortunately both the Wesleyan Methodist and the Roman Catholic churches in Tonga adopted the broad policy of publishing in their Tongan language magazines many stories from raconteurs now long dead. A number of tales presented in the following pages are drawn from these sources.

A series of stories was recorded at first hand from Tongan narrators during my nine months sojourn in Tonga in 1920-1921. For many of them the published versions, rather than the tales of some elder relative, were the relater's source of information. For such tales I have discarded the oral account and have presented only a translation of the printed version.

European folk tales have also been published in Tongan for the delectation of the Tongan public. As a result I not infrequently found myself recording some well known story, such as Cinderella or Dick Whittington's Cat, under a thin disguise of Polynesian names. There were also hybrid tales in which the leading roles were played by princes, princesses, and premiers, or again by cats and ferocious mammals.

Through the diligent efforts of the late Reverend Father Francis Xavier Reiter of the Catholic Church and of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the Methodist Church, a number of Tongan myths have been presented in the anthropological periodicals Anthropos and Folk-Lore. Myths thus recorded are not reproduced in this paper, except insofar as I secured variants or the original Tongan text.

Modern Tongans have a distinct national pride and feel that they constitute a nation superior to their neighbors. I am inclined to believe that this national spirit is a survival from ancient times, which has been fanned into fresh vigor under the astute guidance of that remarkable ruler, King George I. Tupou. An undoubted manifestation of this patriotic feeling is the interest taken by many Tongans in the past of their nation. As a result of this widespread interest the expedition met with hearty coöperation from Tongans as well as from Europeans.

The interest of the educated Tongan in the past of his country is well illustrated by the following Tongan verse written by the late chief Tafolo, a scion of the Tui Tonga's house.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 103 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 484 505 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua.

The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds: the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 787 [779] **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 823 [873] **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island. The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group, inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountainous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 133 823 186 184 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

539 484 829 261 Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

comes into contact consist of a handful of whites, Asiatics, and Hindus. The Asiatics are mostly Japanese storekeepers, the Hindus tailors, and the whites are store-managers, government servants, missionaries, their wives and dependants. For the Kingdom of Tonga the proportion of Tongans to non-Tongans, according to the police census of 1937, was about 31 to 1; in Neiafu in 1938, the proportions were more nearly 50 to 1. Tongans therefore make up the large majority of the population. By law, whites, Asiatics, and Hindus may not take up residence in the small Tongan villages; elsewhere they may lease land only. The Pangai villager therefore sees whites in his village only when the government doctor makes an occasional visit. When the villager visits Neiafu he may come into contact with the white doctor or the white postmaster, perhaps with the white store managers (though store-attendants are generally half-caste Tongans), possibly with the few white missionaries or the Asiatics or Hindus (if his business takes him to a Japanese store, requires the services of a Japanese commercial photographer or needs the skill of the Hindu tailor). The villager's knowledge of, and attitudes to, the non-Tongan foreigners stem from his contact with these individuals, from his observations of a few tourists and travellers, and from any further contacts he may have had with these foreigners during residence in, or visits to other parts of the Kingdom.[7]

The general attitude of the villager to foreigners is one of curiosity and interest which gives way to a matter-of-fact acceptance of them and their services (medical, administrative, spiritual, commercial) on the basis of greater familiarity. The villager furthermore tends to reflect a common attitude of pride in being Tongan which is naturally more pronounced in the larger towns of the kingdom. Buried somewhere in his mind is the slogan, "Tonga for the Tongans" which is the expression of this

[7] It may be noted that there are no discernible influences of either Japanese or British Indian cultures upon village life. The only exception to this was the provision at one feast we attended of two Japanese fans, covered with advertising, for us to use to keep away flies. The Japanese manager of the Japanese-controlled store in Neiafu has a Japanese wife and children. His store sells the usual run of trade-goods in which all South Seas stores specialize. The Hindu tailor is married to a Hindu wife. He also keeps a small store.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

186 pride. He does not think of himself as being a "native," as one who creates burdens for the white man to bear. He thinks of himself first and foremost as a Tongan with various civic and political responsibilities.

177 609 186 Foreigners are permitted to reside in the kingdom, indeed are welcome in the towns, because of specific technical skills and training which are vitally necessary at the present time to provide the mass of the Tongan population with various social and governmental services which the Tongan state wishes its citizens to enjoy. Foreigners therefore, are thought of more as advisors than controllers, very necessary advisors in a very complex world which the Tongan feels himself unable as yet properly to understand, let alone to play in it an independent role. Significant of this attitude (144) is the fact, for instance, that whereas white doctors are thought of as advisors to the Tongan health service (and practitioners with special skills too), the burden of providing these health services is conceived as falling on Tongans who have been trained as medical practitioners in Suva. These Tongans are officially known in Tonga as "Tongan Medical Practitioners"; elsewhere in the Pacific, Polynesians and Melanesians who have received similar training in Suva are known simply as "Native Medical Practitioners." The social distance between being a "native" and being a "Tongan" may not be particularly relevant for the more obtuse foreigner resident in Tonga. To the Tongans, those two words mean all the difference between being a subordinate people on the one hand and being theoretical masters of their own bailiwick on the other. In this connection, the term "theoretical" is used advisedly. Realistic insight into the ultimate nature of the functioning, and not merely formal, control of the Kingdom of Tonga quickly suggests that the invisible hand that guides the destiny of this Kingdom is definitely white in colour, and not a Tongan brown—were the colour visible!

177 609 123 In the attempt to characterize further the attitudes of villager to whites, it is also difficult to distinguish between the attitudes toward familiar whites on the one hand and to us as strangers on the other. Our arrival in Pangai was greeted with a mixture of reserve, suspicion, curiosity, interest. Suspicion was probably the most important

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

for the villagers to find the money to repay this debt. Another basis for the inference, again according to local pastors, is that Pangai always lags far behind the other villages of comparable size in Vava'u when special collections are made for church purposes. It is difficult for the outsider to evaluate such judgments. Our own observations suggest that there is in Pangai a warmth of religious feeling and spiritual fervor that would be considered highly abnormal in countries with a longer Christian tradition behind them. On the other hand there is in Pangai a noticeable lack of what may be called civic and religious pride when this village is compared with some of the other villages in Vava'u, particularly other villages where the noble estate-owner is in residence and acts as a sort of dynamo in village life. The village overseer of Pangai, as has been noted before, is a good, plain, honest fellow, a Pangai man among his friends. None could possibly accuse him of having the energy of vaulting ambition, or the efficiency of a village-manager. From this viewpoint, therefore, Pangai is probably slack where civic pride is concerned, slack also when it comes to the matter of showing interest in one's church by contributions other than, or additional to, the ordinary quarterly dues.

Sunday School

An attempt is made by church pastors to give the young training in religious matters through the institution of a Sunday school which meets once each week before the regular mid-morning church service. The instruction, given by the pastor, consists in the usual Bible readings and the learning of Bible texts. At the end of the year prizes are given to the best pupils. The names of these pupils are announced during church service, and their parents derive great satisfaction and pride from the awards. To show the form this satisfaction may take, the following notes from our field-diary are added:

When two of Koloamatangi's grandchildren (Koloa is the village overseer) received church prizes, he took the opportunity to give one of the biggest feasts in village memory. He slaughtered a bull to provide the principal relish and added to this large amounts of octopus, fish, and

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

moment to send round the collection-plate. None could lay out the funds thus collected in church-building with better effect. None was so jealous of the honour and independence of Tonga, warning her when any of the great nations cast greedy eyes upon her emerald shores. He designed the national ensign, and the royal standard with three club-knives, such as the European officers strap to their sides, and a dove carrying a branch in its beak, and the Great Seal, and many other things that make a nation respected. These were foreigners' things and their meaning was therefore not known to Tongans, but they were the emblems of civilisation. He it was who ordered the timber for the palace and the churches and all the public buildings, which cost a great deal of money. And lastly, it was he who persuaded a German Consul-General to come to Tonga in a man-of-war to make a treaty, so that Tonga was recognised of the Great Powers: for this honour only a small island was given to Germany as a coaling-station, and for his labours as interpreter between the plenipotentiaries Mr Baker received, as was right and proper, a decoration from the German Emperor.

Then Unga, the premier and the king's son, died in Auckland, and Mr Baker, out of his love for the king, brought back the body to Tonga in a German man-of-war, and consented to fill the place that Unga had left empty. For charges had been made against Mr Baker—the great are always envied!—and a committee of his peers in the Methodist Church had advised his removal to Australia. Thus Unga's death saved him from the pain of leaving the Tongans whom he loved.

Now the king had a grievance against the Conference.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

578 persons" had been endeavouring to set my native colleagues against me, and they were so demoralised by the turn affairs had taken that they talked freely of resigna-
[651] tion. There were, in short, rumours of wars everywhere, and not a shilling had been taken as taxes since the High
651 Commissioner left a month before. A little later I heard
439 the other side of the story, which was that an enterprising
436 copra-trader had persuaded the native Premier to proclaim that the Government would accept copra in lieu of money for taxes, and to sell the copra thus obtained to him at a fixed rate; and Tukuaho, being new to the business, had been easily persuaded that the offer was disinterested, and had acted upon it, to the great indignation of the rival traders and the detriment of the Government, as will be explained hereafter.

But the worst news of all, although the least unexpected,
793 was that the Free Church ministers were up in arms.
798 They felt, naturally enough, that in Mr Baker they had
795 lost a powerful champion, and that the Government was
[797] no longer to use its machinery for the annoyance of their adversaries, the Wesleyans. The return of the exiles was a triumph for the minority, for among them were the only persons of rank who remained faithful to the old Church.
[797] Mr Baker was their prophet and their *defensor fidei*, who alone could keep alive the spirit of enthusiasm, and insure the punctual payment of their salaries from the annual
[618] mission collections. Naturally enough, therefore, they "talked *lotu*" from their pulpits—that is to say, they vilified the rival sect, and hinted that the removal of Mr Baker was but the preface to the seizure of the country by
186 Great Britain. Now every Tongan is hysterically patri-
829

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

otic, and has a deep-seated conviction that the sovereigns of the other Powers do not sleep well of nights for pondering how they may plausibly compass the enthralment of Tonga. To accuse the chiefs who had taken office in the new Cabinet of selling their country to England was the surest way to make them extremely unpopular. This had been the news from Haapai, and the minds of the people in Tonga, both white and black, were deeply tinged with pessimism. There was a general undefined feeling that something was going to happen.

186
829

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

651 wards most disastrous results, and led to a lawsuit which, though amusing enough in the facts it brought to light, wasted seventeen days of valuable time. I felt bound to compromise the matter in the most advantageous manner possible, and to content myself by making the trader sign a bond which left the Government quite free as to the amount of copra they delivered, and allowed them to receive money for taxes after January 1, four months hence. I had many times to curse Tukuaho's naïveté and good-nature when I saw taxpayers turned away from the tax-office windows with money in their hands, and carts full of copra passing the Government sheds on the way to the traders', while the Treasury safes were nearly empty.

609 During the next few days it was clear enough that, friendly as my colleagues were, the people did not care to
563 conceal their distrust. This was easily explained. The white traders as a body were quiet, law-abiding men, but there was the usual proportion of malcontents who are "agin any Guv'ment." If these people must have a Government, they infinitely prefer a purely native one, which allows them opportunities unattainable when a countryman of their own is at the head of affairs. Some of these, fearing that my presence would upset their pet schemes of abolition of the poll-tax on Europeans and the Customs dues, had been telling the natives that I had been sent to
[186] Tonga to smooth the way for annexation. This is the one
[829] story that every Tongan will believe, even though a white man has told it to him, and I knew that it would take
793 months of hard work to live it down. The Free Church
798 ministers, moreover, had not been idle, and their per-
645

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

did not make matters better. He returned from spying with black care on his brow, and with rumours of war on his lips. The people were talking of fighting; they were not going to submit tamely to the yoke of Tungi and his son. "When was Haapai under the authority of the Tongatabu chiefs?" But their resentment was not confined to Tukuaho—poor good-natured Fatafehi, their own Governor, came in for a share of the obloquy. Had he not sold his country to England? And, as a proof of it, here was a white man sent down by the British Government to meddle in their affairs. Tukuaho was much depressed, but, fortunately, at this juncture the burly Governor himself came in bursting with good-humour. He had heard the news too, but it did not disturb him in the least. As a descendant of the Immortals, human affairs were never more to him than food for amusement. His own rank was too secure for any popular aberration to disturb his composure, and his digestion was too good to allow him to look far into the future. "Let them alone," he said; "they're all fools. All that we have to do is to prevent the king from listening to these Free Church ministers. Only wait until the *bolotu* on Sunday, then we'll talk to them. No, thanks. I have just eaten. I am full." The son of the Immortals sat down, and we got to business.

The first thing to do was to persuade the king to hold a Privy Council, and to appoint me a Minister of the Crown; the next, to pass certain draft Ordinances restraining the public expenditure within the limits of the Budget. First, I had to explain to my fellow-conspirators what a Budget really is. "But," I asked, "how is it that you do not

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

were still in a good humour, we were to urge upon him the necessity of returning to Tongatabu to hold a great meeting of the people, and order them to pay their taxes. We sat on far into the night, discussing our plan of campaign between the bowls of kava, until the Head Jailer and the Sub-Inspector of Police, both malcontents, came in, ostensibly to do us honour, but in reality to hear us talk and spread the news. But when they had all gone Peter's moon-face clouded, and he whispered his dire tidings into Tukuaho's willing ear. The town was suspicious and uncomfortable. "Tukuaho sits all day with the white man writing. Let them write on. The country will not be lost to us by writings. There will be war before that happens."

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

There were some tame imitations of the three principal performers: then Tukuaho rose, and a hush fell upon the excited crowd. Religion was to give place to politics. He told them that he had come to the church that evening to find comfort for his wounded spirit. He had landed on their shore with joy, thinking that he had come among old friends, but his joy had been turned into sorrow. They were his friends no longer — why? He knew not, unless it was because a distasteful office had been forced upon him. Did they think that he had sought office? No! he was Premier by Tubou's command, not by his own choice. Out of his love for his king he had undertaken work for which he was unfitted, and with God's help he would carry it through. Many foolish things had been said (was not Tonga the land of lying reports?). It had even been asserted that the independence of their country would be lost. Lost? Well, he could tell them that there was one man who would fight if the independence of the country was endangered. That man was himself. But was there a man present who would not fight? (Hitherto

"He tore open his shirt."

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

only the women had been impressed, but now the men's set faces relaxed, and there was a chorus of "*Malo!*") But that was not all. There were some perhaps who loved the man who was gone. Well—he was not there to speak ill of the absent, but he would say this, that the accounts were now being audited, and that some very strange things were coming to light. Did they think that any Tongan could thread the dark passages of such cunning? No. The king knew that when he asked for a white man to be sent to audit the accounts, and to make the dark ways plain. He was present, sitting at his side. (I tried to look unconscious.) In six short months he would leave them: it would be useless for them to ask him to stay longer—he could not. But he (Tukuaho) was there to-night to speak of his soul, and not of politics. What had politics to do with a church in which before God all men were equal? It was true that his soul was pained, but he had at least the comfort of knowing that he was doing his duty.

Before the applause had subsided Fatafehi was on his feet.

"I hear that you are all angry with me. Very well: that's your affair. But what is it about?" He laughed—not his hereditary laugh, but a less pleasant sound. "I will tell you why you are angry," he went on, and lashed the mischief-makers with great vehemence, not even deigning to end his speech with a devotional peroration.

"There will be less foolish talk to-morrow," said Tukuaho as we came away. "It was a good *bolotu*, only I am sorry that Fatafehi's words were so hot."

As soon as we reached home the spies were set in

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

in virtue of his local rank. His office, however, seemed to place him next to the Governor in importance, for he alone can have the ordering of other men's labour without paying for it—a distinction that carries weight in every community. Tukuaho told them how much he regretted that an empty Treasury had tied his hands, so that he could not yet pay them the nine months' salary due to them on Mr Baker's departure; but he announced that from that day forward their salaries would be punctually remitted to them, and that the payment of the amount owing to them by his predecessor (he was not going to speak ill of the absent) would depend upon their own loyalty. The sooner they could induce their friends to pay their taxes, the sooner would they receive the arrears due to them.

Next day the mail-steamer from New Zealand put in, after touching at Nukualofa. From the former place she brought Mr Baker's son—formerly his private secretary—carrying, for distribution among the natives, a bundle of lithographs of his father, subscribed "The Premier appointed by Tubou"; and from the latter Mr Watkin, the chief minister of the Free Church, and the staunch ally of the late Premier, ostensibly to make church collections, but also, as it afterwards proved, to further unsettle the minds of his flock.

At mid-day we set sail for Nukualofa. A chain of volcanoes traverses the Tongan group from north to south, and one or other of the craters is generally in a state of sufficient activity to be employed by one of the contending Church parties against the other. In August 1886, the sudden eruption in Niuafoou was pointed to by the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

persecuted Wesleyans as a sign of the wrath of heaven against the Free Church; but the tables were turned, and the dull glare of Tofua, which we had seen every night from Haapai, was now seized upon by the Free Church ministers as a warning of the peril of the State from British machinations. But an eruption is public property, and I was told that Tofua was used by our own supporters to awe the opponents of "the just-dealing Government" into complacency.

With the view of seeing the crater more closely we steered direct for Tofua, and were becalmed within two miles of the volcano long after sunset. The night was very dark, but every few minutes the dull glare of the crater was illuminated with a burst of flame, and masses of red-hot rock were projected into the air with deep reverberations. The crater was not more than 200 feet above the sea-level, and was close to the north shore of the island. I therefore tried to persuade the crew to take us into the deep strait that separates the island from the sugar-loaf cone of Kao. But they were frightened at the explosions, and flatly refused, urging that we should be becalmed on the lee side, and become a target for the missiles from the crater. It was useless to urge that the stones would not fall into the sea: they were obdurate, and we had reluctantly to steer southwards.

It was within sight of this island that, on the morning of May 1789, the crew of H.M.S. Bounty mutinied and set their commander, Lieutenant Bligh, adrift in the launch. On landing at Tofua he was treacherously attacked by the natives, and John Norton, his quartermaster, was struck down as he was casting off the stern-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

133 aqueous eruption. It suddenly rose, and formed an island
[186] 160 feet above the sea, composed of smoking scoria. A question arose in Nukualofa as to the nationality of this new land, and an enterprising expedition was despatched to settle the matter by planting the Tongan ensign on the summit. We found that the sea was making great havoc of this, the latest addition to King George's dominions. With every storm great masses of the soft pumice were dislodged, so that in a few years the island will be reduced to its old form of a reef awash at low tide.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

and it was not until the eighteenth century that any but the principal chiefs could fit out expeditions for distant voyages. A little before 1750 several canoes had run down the wind to Lakemba, and their crews, after joining one or other of the local chiefs in war, and gaining him the victory by their superior daring, had taken their share of the spoil, exchanged their small canoes for larger craft, built of *vesi* from Kambara, and returned to their own country laden with exotic plunder, and boasting of their foreign experiences. Thenceforth an expedition to Fiji became the keystone of a Tongan chief's education, just as in Europe at the same period the "grand tour" was considered essential to the training of an English gentleman; and as our travellers brought back outlandish habits and strange wares, which were admired because they were foreign, so Cook found that the Tongans spoke of their neighbours as their superiors in war and in the useful arts. The cold-blooded treachery that will betray a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain enemy,—all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy, and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments of his more travelled countrymen. It would surprise the Tongan of to-day to hear that his fathers looked up to the Fijians as his superiors. A contempt born of familiarity has taught him to estimate the characteristics of his neighbours at something less than their proper

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

value. The taste for licence engendered by intercourse with Fiji could not but have its effect upon the political situation of Tonga. The young chiefs chafed at their enforced inaction, for there was no scope for personal ambition in a State controlled by so firm a central Government.

III.

THE REVOLUTION.

Tukuaho now became the central figure upon the stage. In his morose and cruel temper, his unbending policy, his tragic end, and the long years of bloodshed and misery that followed it, he stands out in the memory of his countrymen in lurid relief. About the year 1784 the Tui Tonga, Pau, who had so hospitably entertained Captain Cook, died, and Tukuaho immediately seized the estates claimed by his widow on behalf of her son Mau-ulu-beko-tofa, who was still a minor. Her resistance was useless, and she was driven to take refuge in the island of Eua. It was the first sign of the waning power of the Tui Tonga, and the growing assumptions of the high temporal chiefs. Tukuaho's motive was doubtless to seize upon a conspicuous place and secure to himself in due course the reversion of the office of Tui Kano-kubolu. About 1790 Finau Ulukalala died, and was succeeded by his brother under the same title. The younger Finau was Tukuaho's only rival for the leadership of the young party, and he, being occupied with the affairs of

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

853 milk, and could only give the children taro, yam, or fish as the first food after weaning. The change in this system of family separation is the cause most commonly quoted by the natives for the high mortality among children.

181 I have said that the Tongans are sticklers for propriety in appearances. In some respects, however, they share with the other Polynesian peoples a gross lack of delicacy. 585 Ancient custom still constrains the elderly female relations of the bridegroom to go home with the married pair and stay with them until they are in a position to prove to the other relations that the marriage is satisfactory, and that the dower is therefore due.

186 All the weaknesses of pride of race that we laugh at in ourselves, and feel none the less keenly, may be studied 186 among these other islanders of the antipodes. There is a 167 Tongan colony in Fiji, the children of the army of occu- 829 pation taken over by Maafu in 1848. The real Tongans patronise their colonials, and speak of them behind their backs as barbarians, ignorant of the usages of polite society. The colonists affect to ridicule the Tongan aristocracy as effete and effeminate, and envy them in secret, bestowing on them the involuntary flattery of imitation. A Tongan colonist who has been to Nukualofa and conversed with the great of the earth returns home to be a nuisance to his fellows, who try to disguise their feeling of inferiority by disparagement of the intercourse which they so much envy. Thus, as between the English and the Australians, a gulf is gradually being fixed between the Tongans of 186 Tonga and Fiji. Not less instructive is the feeling 829 between the Tongans and the Fijians. While affecting 648 to despise the Fijians for their want of refinement, the

14: Thomson . G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan chief, stripped of his wealth and influence by his new-fangled communism, secretly envies the authority which his Fijian neighbour has been too wise to surrender: the Fijian chief, though full of contempt for the leaning towards foreign customs that has reduced the Tongan chief to poverty, tries hard to imitate his air of superior refinement. The Tongan chief likes nothing better than to be entertained by a great chief in Fiji, and feel again vicariously the glories of his lost estate, and eat *taro*, and hear the murmur of running water, both luxuries unknown in his own dry country. The Fijian loves to have such guests, and show them off to his neighbours as proof of the wide range of his influence. So each reflects glory on the other. They are ridiculously shy of one another. While Tukuaho was paying a visit to me in Auckland, Ratu Lala, the Tui Thakau, came from Fiji to make a tour through the Australian colonies. The two chiefs, on the ground of their relationship through a common ancestress, were very anxious to meet, and they both besought me to bring about the introduction. Tukuaho spoke excellent Fijian, and Ratu Lala is no less fluent in Tongan, but to my astonishment I found that I was expected to act as interpreter between them. Their conversation was complimentary and formal. Tukuaho reminded his Fijian relative of the romantic legend that connected their families. Ratu Lala pressed him to make the bond closer by paying him a visit. They were both so painfully shy that even this stilted conversation would have been impossible unless I had stayed to interpret their languages to each other.

I have spoken already of the music and poetry of the

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

644 father, chuckled at the thought of being a grandfather, and touched lightly on the still burning question of the king's marriage, which had not disturbed him, for all it had threatened 797 revolution. And "Misa Beika" was back again. He laughed long and loud at this admission and the reminiscences that it evoked.

128 I must here digress to explain what had taken place since my term of office ten years before. 643 In 1893 King George had died, at the age of [764] ninety-seven, of a chill supposed to have been brought on by his obstinate habit of bathing at daybreak in the sea, and had been buried in a huge mound thrown up in the public square of Nukualofa, known as the Malaekula, or Red Square. Contrary to expectation, his great great-grandson, Taufa'ahau, had succeeded him without disturbance, under the title of George 645 Tubou II. Not long after his accession he had dismissed Tukuaho, appointing him governor of Vavau, and had made Sateki, my auditor- [647] general, premier in his stead. For a time the [186] premier had had an European clerk, but the native government had gradually come to dispense with all Europeans except the Customs staff. 652 This meant, of course, that it had sought unofficial and irresponsible advice from traders,

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

law, in a French-looking uniform with a cocked hat; Sateki, greyer and more care-lined than of old, and the two uniformed aides-de-camp, both famous cricketers in my day, but now inclining to obesity. Towering above all was the king, something over six feet in height and so broad in proportion that he cannot weigh much less than twenty stone. His tight uniform tunic, which enhanced his bulk, was covered with orders, which on closer examination proved to be the various classes of some Tongan decoration instituted by himself, designed by a jeweller in Sydney, and not yet bestowed upon lesser men. He has a broad, intelligent, good-humoured face, with black, languid eyes, and a strong family likeness to his kinsman, poor Tukuaho. His manners are scarcely less genial and engaging, though he has not much taste for the society of Europeans, who cannot help feeling in his company *qu'il ne montre jamais le fond du sac.* Of his intelligence it is enough to say that, though he has never been abroad save for a few weeks spent in Auckland, he speaks English fairly well and reads the English newspapers; that he conducts his own correspondence with a typewriter, and can write Pitman's system of shorthand with facility. Though there are said

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

combined with that of Speaker of the Parliament. 644
To assist in determining the boundaries of the coaling-station, he brought with him a body-servant and a young man armed with a theodolite, an instrument which proved of great value to us, though not in the way intended by its makers. By his charming manners and his hearty laugh he endeared himself to all on board, though he could not speak a word of any language but his own, and I was not always at hand to interpret. He lived nominally in the captain's cabin, but though he ate heartily and was quite at his ease, he showed the instinct of an old sailor in carrying up his blanket to the deck, where he was found in the morning asleep in a canvas chair.

Having a curiosity to visit Falcon Island, we 133
did not take the direct route to Vavau. Early in 1896 Falcon Reef, then a patch of coral awash at low water, suddenly broke into eruption and cast up an island of pumice stone more than 100 feet high. Mr. Shirley Baker, who watched the eruption from a schooner, described it to me as a terrific spectacle, as indeed it must have been, for the sea had access to the crater, and was flung aloft in explosions of steam. As soon as [186]
the mass was cool enough to stand upon, the

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan ensign was hoisted upon it, and the new island became a portion of King George's dominions. It did not swell his revenues, for, when I passed it four years later, it had shrunk to less than half its original size, and every roller that broke upon its shores brought down a land-slip of pumice which covered the surface of the sea for some distance. H.M.S. *Porpoise* had examined it in 1899, and had reported it as a reef barely awash, and her officers were anxious to see whether there had been any change since their last visit. We sighted it at three o'clock in the afternoon. The sea was breaking heavily, and as we drew near we were astonished to find a black hump protruding nine feet above the waves. It was impossible to make a closer examination in the boats, but the navigating lieutenant was satisfied that the restless island was emerging again from the sea.

Early next morning we steamed into Neiafu Harbour. Something unusual about the vegetation on the outer island had struck us as we came in, but we were not prepared for the scene of desolation that met us as we swung round Utulei Point to the anchorage. The centre of a terrific cyclone had struck the island on April 2nd, 1900, just a week before our arrival. Scarce a house

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European residents, "Well, what can you expect from ignorant foreigners?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment of the Free Church, there was much downright physical suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit. Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor. Protestant congregations seem more generally to use benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Apparently we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits "hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a balance between these two extremes of Tonga society, the

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921)- 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken that it became necessary some decades ago to pass laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.

The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new feminine occupations: sewing, often with a machine; and washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable. Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat.

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians because they have no water closets, which in Tonga are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that each one may wash his hands. 264

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still freely anoint themselves. 302 [178]

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi (foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners must go without. 273 [656] [565]

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted long since by metal implements. Contact with European-American culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it is pounded. 177 [41] [415] [276]

The former narrow roads that traversed the various Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance. They are the more numerous in the former island where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving. The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar for years with gasoline launches. 491 178 493 [439] [177] 50

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga. 494

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails. 342 177 346 178

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent 177 436 186 178

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

in Tonga in pre-Caucasian days, is strong to-day. The limited outlook of heathen days has been replaced with an appreciation of the position of Tonga as a recognized nation of the world, one with which the great powers have entered into treaty.

That Tonga will adopt Euro-American culture to the total exclusion of her own is not to be expected. On the contrary it is to be anticipated that the hybrid culture of to-day will maintain its distinctiveness. Certainly, it will never become absolutely identical with any other culture.

Euro-American acculturation appears to have made greatest headway in religion. Material culture has also been considerably modified, though the underlying economic basis of life remains the same as in heathen days. Society has been altered least. Some of the extreme developments, such as the arbitrary power of chiefs, polygyny, and the office of Tamaha (held by the sororal niece of the Tui Tonga) have been discontinued. but the fundamental organisation of society remains the same. It is in this department of culture that the greatest incongruity with Euro-American culture appears. We see the speech tabu between brother and sister and the *rasu* or right of the nephew to seize his mother's brother's possessions flourishing side by side with Christianity and daily wireless news.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat.

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity and the missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather slowly and to too limited an extent.

Tonga's Future

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope, not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agricultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform. The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate further educational reform.

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated. The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and seamanship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

its wishes known to the people. As far as the land is concerned, his role is that of a field officer who knows which tax allotments are vacant and which others are occupied and by whom. He was described to me as being related to the chief.[18]

There are four churches in the village, each belonging to a different denomination. These are the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Wesleyan Church, and the Mormon Church. Although there are also Roman Catholics in the village, they have no church of their own. There are church functions within each denomination which demand the co-operation of all its own members. If a Mormon Church is being built, for instance, this is regarded as properly the task of the Mormons only and not of anyone belonging to any of the other Churches, between whom there is only minimal liaison.

Most of the households contain no more than an elementary family. In some cases there are relatives of various descriptions staying with such families, and in others there are guests (including some from other islands in the Tongan Group). In a considerable number of cases it is affinal relatives, such as the wife's mother or brother, who live in the household with the elementary family. In a very limited number of cases, there are more than one married couple in a household. In every case, however, the household is the most persistent unit associated with work on the land.

Of unifying principles covering the *whole* village there are only two: the people's common allegiance and subordination to their chief, and the fact of common allegiance to the Government through its representatives in the village. There is no village council after the Fijian pattern, or even after the pattern of the Samoan *fono*. There is indeed a Tongan *fono*, but this is a gathering of all the people to hear the orders of the chief, not one where sectional interests within the village are pitted against one another.

The land upon which the village stands and the lands upon which its members plant their food gardens and cash crops are part of the hereditary *tofia* of the high chief of the area. He has *tofia* in several other parts of Tonga, but the one in which this village is situated comprises the following divisions:

1 block for his own use — — — —	209 acres
101 *api tukuhau* held within the village — —	833 „
40 *api tukuhau* held by members of other villages	330 „
6 *api tukuhau* currently vacant — — —	50 „
1 lease — — — — — —	8 „
Total —	1430 acres[19]

[18] There is no reference to a Town Officer in Pangai, only to an overseer who performs similar functions, Beaglehole 1941:25, 30.

[19] The figures given are approximate, being based on a calculation allowing roughly 8½ acres per *api*. In practice *api* are usually 2 or 3 perches more or less than this figure. The 40 *api* held outside the village are held by members of the "next-door" villages. The lease is to a part-European.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

186

Seal of Tonga - Sila 'o Tonga

x

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

621 mourning is observed. The period of such abeyance usually
765 lasts about a week (it may be less in the case of a child's death or longer if the person was of high status), and it comes to an end after the head of a bereaved fāmili has spoken with one of the leading people in the village asking him to inform people that they should resume normal activities. It should be noted here that, as far as I could ascertain, there is no underlying notion that the village is mourning the loss of one of its members; instead, the observance of a period of quiet is regarded as a proper but voluntary gesture of respect towards the bereaved.

621 While the village as a unit has little significance
825 for action, this does not mean that a village is something without meaning. On the contrary, people identify themselves to others as being of or from such-and-such a place. In doing this, however, they may name a village or island other than the one in which they are presently residing.
[186] Self-identification by reference to another village or island is especially common among people who come from the smaller and more remote islands, some of whom have a strong sense of the way of life on their island being different from and preferable to that on more sophisticated islands.[6]

---

6 Conversely, I was told that on the smaller islands some people tend to emphasize the fact of their not being originally from that island.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

At funerals, which are widely attended by adherents of different denominations, people may be asked to group themselves according to village-membership to facilitate the distribution of food. People may even be maligned through reference to the folk reputation of their village or island--a stereotypic reputation based on certain events in Tongan history. For example, on one occasion I was accompanying a group of basketball players from Motulahi to a match in a village a few miles away. Just as we came there, we passed a group of youths scuffling at the side of the road. The young women beside me turned to me and remarked: "Look at that, Sulamita. The people from--naming that village--are known to be ruffians, and see how true it is!" This reputation is based on a notorious episode involving people of that village that took place during the civil war. Other villages may be associated with elements that confer positive distinction. Thus, the village of Lapaha on Tongatapu is celebrated as the traditional seat of the Tu'i Tonga, the village of 'Uiha in Ha'apai is associated with Tāufa'āhau (the founder of the present ruling dynasty), the village of Fea on Tongatapu is highly regarded among Tongan Catholics as the first village where Catholic missionaries were welcomed, and so on. People who identify themselves with these villages take some pride in their village's place in history. However, a village's historical

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

621 reputation is not seriously regarded as an element of
186 personal identity for individuals living in or associated
823 with the village.

Articulation with Higher Levels of Authority

621 More than anything else, the Tongan village is a territorial entity, for villages are defined primarily in terms of the boundaries of the tracts of land known as 'estates' (tofia). Since every allotment is part of the estate of a particular noble or part of a specific Government estate, there is never any question about which is the village with which an allotment is associated, even where villages are contiguous. There is no doubt, for example, where Kukutau ends and Motulahi begins.

631 Besides its territorial definition, the Tongan
623 village is defined by another external criterion: a village is an adminstrative unit within the state. Between the village and the state are two intermediate levels in the hierarchy of government. First, viewed from the top down, there are the districts, corresponding with the geographical groupings of islands: Tongatapu District, Ha'apai District, and Vava'u District.[7] The districts are further divided into sub-districts, and the sub-districts are made up of their constituent villages and town-sectors.

---

7 For some purposes, the island of 'Eua is treated as a separate district, as are the three far northern islands.

60: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9

ADRIENNE L. KAEPPLER

Folklore as Expressed in the Dance in Tonga[1]

A STUDY OF DANCE in Tonga must go back to the more basic art of poetry, for understanding the poetry is essential if one is to understand the meaning of the dance. On the other hand, if one is to study poetry or any other verbal art in Tonga, it is essential to study dance, for today folklore is expressed mainly through the medium of dance. Folklore and dance, then, are interrelated arts and must be viewed in relation to the socio-political system which produced them.

There are two basic kinds of dance in Tonga—one which has movement as its main element, and one which accompanies poetry. It is with this latter type that we will be concerned, and it can further be divided into two types. One type sings the praise of the royal family, the high chiefs, and an ethnocentric love of Tonga, and is essentially an expression of allegiance to the established political and social order; the second kind comprises legends and folklore from Tonga's hallowed past, and also from more recent times. Indirectly, however, this second type of poetry functions in the same way as the first. The example discussed in this paper is of this latter type.

The usual kind of dance that accompanies poetry is called *lakalaka,* which literally means "to walk" and, indeed, the leg movements are basically a walk that moves one step to the left, then one step to the right, and occasionally forward and back. The arm movements are graceful and intricate, deriving their distinctive character from the rotation of the lower arm. The dance is performed by all the men and women of a village ranged in two or more rows facing the audience. The men stand on the right side (from the observer's point of view) and women stand on the left; the order in which they stand is determined by social status. The men do one set of virile movements while the women do another set of very graceful movements so that there are two dances going on simultaneously. Each group interprets the poem in a manner consistent with the Tongan view of movements suitable and appropriate for each sex. The movements dramatize the poetry. They do not pantomime the words, nor do they symbolize in the sense that one movement symbolizes one phrase, or idea. Rather they are figurative: the movements create an abstract picture to which a number of meanings can be assigned, and conversely, one idea can be alluded to by several different sets of movements. This illustrates the Tongan value of "not going straight," for the proper way to refer to ideas

which is the widespread dance type. In Lapaha, children begin dancing when very young. They watch the adults practicing faiva, they stand behind them and dance, they then run off, form their own line and play at faiva.

Performances of the ula today are at the same occasions as the fa'ahiula. On these formal Catholic occasions an ula can follow after a fa'ahiula, or an ula may be performed alone. Ula are also performed on occasions where it is important to demonstrate traditional 'Tonganness.' For example, at the opening of a private school in school in 1965, which was outside the governmental realm of the Tongan educational system, the headmaster of the school wanted to impress the Tongans with the traditional nature of the curriculum adapted to modern society. In the dance program following the dedication feast a lakalaka was performed, and then, instead of the usual tau'olunga, an ula was substituted. It was done with the si sia vahe ula rather than in the 'correct' way.

The most knowledgeable exponents of the ula are the same as for the fa'ahiula--that is, Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate who learned from their father. They have a repertoire consisting of six ula. Sister 'Okostino is another well known exponent of ula. Her repertoire consists of eight ula, four of which are different from Vaisima's.

Ula, like fa'ahiula, are normally not performed during official government celebrations. During formal Catholic celebrations, only

535 practice, the better they like it. They prefer to do tau'olunga which
183 requires little practice rather than lakalaka or ma'ulu'ulu which require a great deal.

535 The late Queen Salote was a great supporter of all Tongan dance
643 including the tau'olunga. She was one of the first to choreograph tau'olunga with set movements. One of the most famous hiva kakala, Manu 'o Palataise, 'Bird of Paradise,' was composed by Queen Salote
535 specifically for tau'olunga. The Queen used tau'olunga as a form of
649 entertainment for dignitaries visiting Tonga. When traveling abroad
648 the Queen often took with her a dancer of tau'olunga to perform for 'cultural' events in other countries. Thus the tau'olunga has become equated with 'Tongan dance' in other countries and with 'entertainment' to the Tongans. The entertainment can vary from a very informal level
535 to a level befitting a head of state. Tau'olunga, like ballroom dancing are forms of entertainment which one can either join or watch. Other Tongan dance genres are faiva--that is, performances that have a deeper meaning than just entertainment. Tau'olunga is classified
535 as faiva when 'performance with haka' is meant. However, if faiva
186 is used at a more specific level to mean 'performances which uphold and reflect Tongan traditions,' tau'olunga must be excluded in most
[648] cases. Ma'ulu'ulu and even lakalaka are occasionally used as entertainment for people who are not familiar with Tongan traditions, but to the Tongans these genres have a deeper meaning.

535 The most reknowned choreographers of tau'olunga are the late Queen Salote, the Honorable Ve'ehala, Peni Tutuila, Kafu and his son

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

Order; Knight Commander of (the order of) the British Empire; and Commander of (the order of) the British Empire].

Although much has been written about *kava* ceremonies in Tonga (Pratt 1922; Collocott 1927; Gifford 1929; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941; Newell 1947; Lemert 1967; Bott 1972 and Leach 1972) no authors have satisfactorily dealt with the basic question raised by Lemert when he criticized the work of the Beagleholes: no one has explained "why drinking *kava* rather than other beverages continues to function as an integrating force in Tongan life" (1967:190). Lemert pointed out that this is an extremely important question since "home brew" has been available for some time as one "alternative of male interaction." One must also add that there are numerous commercial establishments in Tonga which provide alcoholic beverages which could, theoretically at least, serve as substitutes for *kava* drinking.

Why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the years, both informal consumption (loosely structured) and formal ceremonial consumption (highly structured drinking patterns)? To deal with this question one must combine contemporary ethnographic evidence with accurate ethnohistorical evidence to obtain a diachronic and plausible interpretation. The major point presented in this paper is that *kava* drinking has been the way in which Tongans have maintained their identity. The most important *kava* ceremony in Tonga, the *Taumafa kava* (or monarch's *kava*) continues to provide the major focal point for Tongan unity.[1]

Drinking in Tonga

To place the *Taumafa kava* ceremony into perspective, background information on the drinking of *kava* and alcoholic beverages is in order. With the prerequisite alcohol license, individual Tongans (and non-Tongans residing in Tonga) may purchase alcoholic beverages for consumption off of the premises from major stores in Tonga. The alcoholic beverages may also be partaken of in at least three main "clubs" on Tongatapu. The three clubs on Tongatapu present an intriguing structural pattern of drinking behavior. At one end of a continuum one has the "Tonga Club" which is frequented primarily by Tongan males and only secondarily by some Europeans (males and females). At the other end of a continuum one has the prestigious and exclusive all-male "Nuku'alofa Club" (the second oldest private club in the South Pacific, founded on May 15, 1914). The Nuku'alofa Club is frequented by resident Tongans and non-Tongans and various transient males. One night a year this club is open to members' wives for a dance. The third club has a mediating position on the continuum and is the "Nuku'alofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club." This club is frequented by both Tongans and non-Tongans, males

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

that particular occasion. There is no set pattern of *kava* distribution when the King is not there. The only theoretical generalization that one can make for all non-*Taumafa kava* drinking sessions is that "the *kava* is distributed according to the agreed upon rank of those individuals present." This admittedly low-level generalization is true whether we term all non-*Taumafa kava* sessions either *'ilo kava* ceremonies or *fai-kava* sessions.

For particular non-*Taumafa kava* sessions when individuals cannot agree in advance upon their relative rank *vis-à-vis* one another, they then avoid one another at certain *kava* sessions. For early-contacted Tonga this behavior is quite clear from the account of the French navigator Dumont D'Urville in Tonga 1827. He wrote about the rarity of certain *kava* sessions because of the lack of certain major individuals and:

> above all because of the claims of Palou [also known as Fatukimotulalo, an important and powerful and non-titled individual] and Tahofa [also known as Fae], who took care to avoid any [*kava*] gatherings where they could not occupy the highest place (MS:10).

In contemporary Tonga, elaborate genealogies (both real and fictive) are often traced out for seating positions in non-*Taumafa kava* sessions. Some changes have taken place in all *kava* sessions since the advent of Europeans and, briefly stated, in aboriginal Tongan society the "rank" for a *kava* circle was determined on the basis of the personal rank of the individual whereas in contemporary Tongan society it is the rank of the "title" which an individual has which is the determining factor in seating (and drinking) arrangements.[3]

What is important for all *kava* drinking in Tonga is [1] that it occurs today and [2] the basic structural features (bowl, circle, and relative order of serving) have remained essentially stable over the years. The non-*Taumafa kava* sessions serve as a "safety valve" for Tongan society and provide a frequent chance to discuss the latest gossip, rumors, or general conversation. The Beagleholes pointed out in their 1941 work that the topics of conversation in an informal *kava* session frequently deal with:

> the state of cultivation, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events all [of] these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view (1941:20).

In brief, an informal and small-sized *kava* session is not an extremely spectacular event, much like the drinking in a tavern or bar among good friends. The *Taumafa kava*, on the other hand, provides Tongans with a particular focal point for their own identity and is discussed below.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongans and Europeans

When the Wesleyan Missionaries first arrived in Tonga in the early nineteenth century the role (and fate) of the Christians was often a topic of heated discussion at various *kava* sessions. The following example from a missionary in the islands from August 16, 1822, to October 3, 1823, makes this quite clear:

> At the Cava Ring this morning [Nov. 29, 1822] there were several speeches delivered very prejudicial to our peace. Mafee [making the] Malanga [speech] said that the white people were come as spies and would soon [be] followed by others from England who would take away all Tonga from them. "See, said he, "These people are always praying to their Atuas [*'otua*], as the other Missionaries [of the London Missionary Society in Tonga from 1797 to 1800] were; and what was the consequence of their praying? Why, the wars broke out and all the old chiefs were killed." Malabow one of the Matabolles related his dream, the burden of which was that the old chiefs came back from Boolotoo last night, and seeing the fencing of our garden, said, "What is that?" They were answered, "It is the white people's Ahey [*'api*], or place of abode." Upon which, they became much displeased, and said, "The white people will pray you all dead." Much more to the same purpose was said in the Cava ring party. The multitude believed all and are much dissatisfied with us (Walter: November 29, 1822).

In the nineteenth century, *kava* drinking sessions were a way of discussing current affairs and maintaining Tongan unity in the face of missionary influence on Tongan life. One European non-missionary observer of nineteenth century Tongan life wrote:

> The practise of kava-drinking seems to be falling much into disuse, particularly among the Christians, who are not encouraged to continue it by the [Wesleyan] missionaries (Erskine 1853:149).

The missionaries were opposed to *kava* drinking yet the Tongans continued drinking. The *kava* ceremonies clarified the basic cultural problems (and rules) of Tongan society and, as such, the ceremonies were difficult to eliminate. John Thomas, a Wesleyan missionary in the islands from 1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859, also provides us with some information concerning the discussions at the *kava* ceremonies regarding the missionaries:

> The King was not at school this morning. Several others were [also] kept away at a cava party. I learned from an Englishman at this place that various things are talked about [at the kava parties] of an unfavourable nature respecting us, calculated to grieve us if we were strangers to the devices of Satan and the fallen state of the heathen [or non-Wesleyan Tongans]. But we leave these things to the Lord who will give us strength (1830: Letter-Journal).

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

> coming to our Chief all day to state how things were going on. Old Vaea of Houma was the principal person in the Party, AND AFTER CEREMONIES OF DRINKING KAVA WERE BEGUN, HE STATED THAT HIS OBJECT WAS TO APPOINT ANOTHER TUIVAKANO because this one had embraced Christianity, and that as he himself had not embraced Christianity he wished still to have a Tuivakano that he might serve. (This with other observations make me think that the affair is not only a Chiefdom, but somewhat Idolatrous). He wished to be understood as not intending any persecution, but as only anxious to follow up the former service of the Gods, and that as there were some Idolatrous houses in the fortifications, he thought proper that William [Tui'i Vakano] should leave it lest any disrespect should be shown or violence be used to the Idol temples, if the term be not too grand for them. THEY THEREFORE PREPARED THE KAVA WHICH WAS TO BE DRUNK AT THE CEREMONY OF HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE OFFICE, AND CHIEFDOM, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR. The Kava is always taken to the persons composing the Party by particular direction of the principal person in the company; and when the waiter gave notice that the bowl was full, old Vaea said "Let Vaea mo Mataello Tuivakano (former name) go down and let Tuivakano come up. THIS WAS THE OFFICIAL SENTENCE WHICH CONSTITUTED HIM NO LONGER TUIVAKANO AND HE INSTANTLY LEFT FOR ANOTHER PART OF THE KAVA RING. Soon after this, old Maafu and Lavaka two chiefs still heathen [or non-Wesleyan], who made the greatest figure in the persecution last year, arrived at the fortifications, and this evening we have heard that Vaea mo Mataele NOW NO LONGER TUIVAKANO shall leave Beka, with all the Christian people [All STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: September 12, 1835).

Not only were individuals installed as leaders in Tongan society or removed from their positions of authority at a *kava* ceremony, but land was also apportioned out in aboriginal times during certain *kava* ceremonies. As another nineteenth century Wesleyan Missionary reported:

> This has been a very important day. At the *Kava* ring this morning, two or three Malagas, or speeches were delivered, after which the whole island [of Tongatapu] was divided into different provinces and persons appointed to govern in subjection to the King [*Tu'i Kanokupolu* Jiosaia Tupou]. This is an ancient custom revived (Tucker 1837).[5]

The various *kava* ceremonies in aboriginal Tongan society served a variety of purposes. *Kava* ceremonies could be held just to share information and opinions but they also served to provide a "seal of approval" on more important functions, such as title installation or removal or the division of land. The drinking of *kava* always was an important aspect of Tongan life and over the years has been the major way in which Tongans have shared and discussed social activities. *Kava* drinking has been the way that Tongans maintained their own cultural identity in the face of cultural (namely "religious") colonialism.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 Tonga in approximately June, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now
178 opens the Tonga Legislative Assembly with a formal speech. In *lieu* of the
649 *'inasi 'ufimotu'a* ceremony which took place in approximately the Septem-
644 ber-November period, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV now travels to
646 the various islands in the archipelago for the official opening of the yearly
543 agriculture shows. The role of the *'inasi* in the past has thus been taken over (or has been substituted) by Legislative Assembly activities and the yearly agriculture shows.

649 The formal closing of the Legislative Assembly also takes place in
644 approximately the same time period as the yearly agriculture shows.
646 However, it is His Majesty's travelling to the various islands for the agriculture
484 shows and the inevitable formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony which takes place
549 on each island which serves as the new (and extremely necessary) focal point
276 for Tongan unity. The opening and closing speeches by His Majesty to the
514 Legislative Assembly focus around Tongs's accomplishments and hopes for the future. The speeches to the assembled individuals serve the same function as the speeches given at the *'inasi* BUT it is the activities associated with the [186] agricultural shows with the formal *Taumafa kava* which provide the contemporary "seal of approval" on Tongan life.

549 The individual island shows last for several days and the circuit of the
484 entire archipelago for all of the shows can last several weeks. The shows are
649 complete with dancing, the presentation of foodstuffs to His Majesty (for redistribution to the Royal Party), and involve the judging of livestock, crops, traditional Tongan handicrafts (including *kava* bowls, Tongan "wooden
[526] pillows" or *kali*, and fine mats). Competition between various individuals (and villages) takes place in the form of soccer, horse and bicycle racing, foodstuff and fine mat presentation.

178 In brief, what was once performed on the Island of Tongatapu under
651 the rubric of the *'inasi* ceremony now takes place on the various islands under the rubric of "yearly agriculture show."

543 The *'inasi* was a combination of "public amusement" and "religious
543 observance" and the agriculture shows today are a combination of amuse-
[651] ment and religious re-dedication to the land. Speeches at the agriculture
[591] shows deal with the accomplishments of the previous agricultural year and the role of religion in Tongan life. When His Majesty travels to each of the
543 shows on the various islands (Niua'fou, Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, Ha'apai, and
649 'Eua) the traditional homages are accorded him on each of the islands: dances
276 are performed, baked food is given as a welcome, and the eventual *Taumafa*
514 *kava* takes place. The *Taumafa kava*, with His Majesty as the guest of honor at the various islands, provides all assembled Tongans with a sense of belonging
[186] to Tonga. His Majesty is accompanied by special *matapules* who see that the
[644] *kava* circle is arranged properly. His Majesty receives the first bowl of *kava* and then the other assembled island dignitaries receive theirs, in descending

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

order of rank. The contemporary *Taumafa kava* at the shows provides Tongans with observable and symbolic Tongan unity of a regular basis.

The *Taumafa kava* is not only important at the yearly shows, but it also played a key part of His Majesty's installation as Monarch in 1967. The 1967 ceremony provided the entire archipelago with the essence of Tonga. A "dual installation" actually took place. A formal European-type installation was held on the 4th of July but on the 6th of July the *Taumafa kava* circle consisting of some 290 important Tongans was created to provide the "seal of approval" on His Majesty's installation. Of the 1967 event Grosvenor has pointed out:

> Two days after the Christian coronation [on July 4], the Tongan monarch sat down in a circle with his chiefs for the kava ceremony. Outsiders are not invited to this ancient rite in which the chiefs acknowledge him as King. . . . THE CEREMONIAL DRINKING OF KAVA FORMALIZES TONGAN ANNOUNCEMENTS AND TITLES (1968:343).

Another view of the 1967 installation and coronation is provided by Inder:

> There were two [coronations]. There was a Westminister Abbey-type spectacle on the Tuesday, when they dressed in ermine, brocades, coronets, medals, three-cornered hats and toppers, cutaways, and striped morning suits of Victorian vintage. Then there was the *taumafakava*, or traditional installation, on the Thursday, when the king and his nobles and *matapules* – with mats around their middles – formed a great egg-shaped kava ring so the king could hear them pay him allegiance in Polynesian fashion. For Tongans, both installations were a success. . . . For most Tongans the kava ceremony is the real installation of the king. From all the outlying islands the chiefs had come to drink kava with their monarch, and thus the ordinary man in Tonga was left in no doubt of the authority of his chiefs. They were the men who had sealed their order in the great kava ring.
>
> There had been two rehearsals for the chapel ceremony, both private, and there was one for the royal kava installation, the previous week. This rehearsal was a vital one, for at it, in the absence of the king, the nobles and the matapules had argued out the strict order of seniority (1967:45-47).[8]

The *Taumafa kava*, whether it takes place at installation ceremonies or yearly agricultural shows, is the way in which Tongans have maintained (and continue to perpetuate) their cultural identity. No less a personage than the Honorable V'ahala (a leading authority on Tongan traditions and Governor of Ha'apai) has stated about the *Taumafa kava* ceremony that:

> Before the Christian faith came to this country, the organizing of the country relied mostly on this ceremony which was a meeting place for the people. In this circle the Traditions, Cultures, and Customs were taught and discussed . . . [Translation provided by the Tongan Traditions Committee] (1959:4).

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

The *Taumafa kava* ceremony helps to maintain Tongan culture to this day. With increasing change, Tongans are maintaining their cultural identity by means of [1] increased informal *kava* consumption and [2] creation of the "agricultural shows" with the accompanying formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony.

Conclusions

The question was raised "why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the years and the apparent increase and interest in *kava* consumption since alcoholic beverages are readily available?" The interpretations presented in this paper stress that [1] *kava* drinking of all types has been the way in which Tongans have maintained their cultural identity over the years; [2] *kava* drinking has provided and continues to provide an important "safety valve" feature which allows for informal discussion of contemporary problems; [3] *kava* drinking provides a necessary "seal of approval" on virtually all important Tongan events, from birth to death in the life cycle; and [4] *kava* drinking is decidedly "Tongan" as opposed to the *kava-palangi* of non-Tongans. Tongans prefer to identify with Tongans rather than identify with non-Tongans.

There are two types of *kava* drinking in Tonga: those occasions on which the reigning Monarch is absent and those occasions on which the Monarch is present. The presence of the reigning Monarch constitutes a *Taumafa kava* and it is the only occasion when one can predict with any certainty as to the serving order of the *kava*. The precedence of serving for all non-*Taumafa kava* sessions (whether termed *fai-kava* or *'ilo kava*) depend on the occasion and those present.

As Tongans continue to undergo rapid change in the latter third of the twentieth century, one can predict a continued increase in *kava* consumption since *kava* drinking is the focal point for the maintenance and perpetuation of Tongan unity and identity. One observes this increase in the activities concerning the yearly agricultural shows.

A *kava* drinking session is a model of Tongan society, and the scale of the model merely shifts as on goes from the various non-*Taumafa kava* sessions to the *Taumafa kava* ceremony. Increasing *kava* consumption patterns are a reflection of a greater (and growing) awareness of what it means to be a Tongan in the twentieth century. Paraphrasing Oliver, Tongans appear Western but have remained Tongan (1962:179), or as Inder stated concerning the dual features of His Majesty's 1967 coronation, "Thus, in the end, Tongan and Western influences shared the billing, as usual, the Tongan way the more dominant" (1967:47). When the ratio between *kava* consumption patterns and alcoholic consumption patterns shifts towards a preponderance of alcohol consumption, Tonga will indeed have some problems for

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973:114.
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still] refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion: and the principal things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND TOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumafa kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal part on *H.M.T. Kao*. Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970:134; and Sahlins 1958:24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

or *'ufi* was the main crop and W. Cross wrote "the yam is a vegetable that is to the inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross 1830a). The aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year were based on the lunar month and thirteen separately designated time periods (Dyson *Papers 1858-1908*: April 7, 1863). These names clearly show the importance of the yam to the Tongans and Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kelekele" by the Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams at this time of the year that they are "the earliest and the best yams." For the month of October, Thomas wrote "Ooloo enga – Uluega" which is *'Ulenga* for "ooloo, the head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "became yellow" (Thomas 1827: no page).

8. This same aspect of a "dual installation" also took place when His Majesty's mother, Queen Salote Tupou III, was installed as Queen in 1918 (after the death of her father, King George Tupou II). As Collocott pointed out: "a coronation ceremony in the European model was followed by a native installation with appropriate kava ceremony on the mala'e at Nuku'alofa" (1927:38).

REFERENCES

Anonymous
1938 Tongans Do Homage to Their Crown Prince: Elaborate "Bogibogi" Ceremony Performed at Nukualofa. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, March 24, pp. 43-44.
1969 Campaign and Kava – Politics ... Tongan style. *The Tonga Chronicle*, May 23, p. 1.

Aoyagi, Machiko Kitahari
1966 Kinship Organization and Behaviour in a Contemporary Tongan Village. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 75, No. 2, pp. 141-176.

Bays, Peter
1831 A Narrative of the Wreck of the Minerva, Whalers of Port Jackson, New South Wales. . . . Cambridge, England: B. Bridges.

Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole
1941 *Pangai Village in Tonga*. Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol 18. Wellington, New Zealand: The Polynesian Society.

Bott, Elizabeth
1972a Psychoanalysis and Ceremony. In *The Interpretation of Ritual: Essays in Honour of A. I. Richards*, pp. 205-237. Edited by J. S. La Fontaine. London: Tavistock.
1972b A Rejoinder to Edmund Leach. In *The Interpretation of Ritual: Essays in Honour of A. I. Richards*, pp. 277-282. Edited by J. S. La Fontaine. London: Tavistock.

Churchward, Clerk Maxwell
1959 *Tongan Dictionary: Tongan-English and English-Tongan*. London: Oxford University Press.

Collocott, E. E. V.
1927 Kava Ceremonial in Tonga. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 21-47.

Cross, William
1828 [MS.] *Letter-Journal*, dated December 30 (with entries for October 10/12). Microfilm FM4/1417, reel 26; photocopy in A2835. Mitchell Library, Sydney (original in London).
1830a [MS.] *Letter-Journal*, entry of December 26. Microfilm FM4/1417, reel 26; photocopy in A2836. Mitchell Library, Sydney (original in London).
1830b [MS.] *Letter-Journal*, entry of July 24. Microfilm FM4/1417, reel 26; photocopy in A2837. Mitchell Library, Sydney (original in London).

154
602
166 "I would stay even if I had no job. My sister is here."

464 Although an uneducated migrant probably has more difficulty in obtaining employment, migrants with secondary education have no more difficulty than the locally-born. The migrant's prospects for employment depend, along with all Tongans, on his education and the extent and importance of his kin. Migrants tend to be less involved in agriculture because they have more difficulty in obtaining registered land. They are, therefore, slightly more active in commerce, the produce boards, in certain tertiary areas and in a miscellanea of backyard jobs which are termed part-manufacturing and processing.

156 Most migrants intend to remain in Nuku'alofa and tend to feel
[186] they belong there. The reasons for "belonging" are illuminating and
[171] should further discredit the view that Polynesians have some sort of mystic attachment to their place of birth, an attachment which supposedly outweighs more mundane considerations. "I belong to Nuku'alofa because I can support my children here", was how one informant expressed his feelings, while another in a much more sweeping statement merely said, "Nuku'alofa has everything". Belonging to
602 Nuku'alofa does not, however, mean that the migrant severs his ties with the home island. He belongs more to his family than to a place. It was the institution of the family which supported him on arrival in Nuku'alofa and, once established and part of the family chain, he now
602 assists close relations who remain on the home island. Gifts and
431 visits were exchanged by over three-quarters of those interviewed (see
574 Table IV) and most not participating in such contact either had no close relation remaining in the home island or were young people whose obligations were for the present assumed by older brothers or sisters living in Nuku'alofa. This contact is reciprocal and only stops with the death or migration of the close relations involved.

Table IV

Close Family Gifts and Visits between Islands

	Yes	No	Not Stated
Gifts to Islands	39	18	-
Gifts from Islands	31	24	2
Visits to Islands	41	16	-
Visits from Islands	42	15	-

Number in Sample 57

369 It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest cultural links between town and country in Tonga. As considerably more than a half of the town's population is so involved, it is not surprising that rural and peasant modes and concepts continue to flow

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

government several years of useful service, it was evident that he was definitely not the man to be entrusted with the highly specialised task of drawing up a constitution—a task for which the Reverend Shirley W. Baker was destined.

Baker, like many of his missionary colleagues, had received little formal education, but he was quite gifted, highly intelligent and full of imagination and drive. He was, on the one hand, a great and enthusiastic worker, more liberal than most of his colleagues, and also an ambitious and daring opportunist. On the other hand, he had a passion for fame and a lust for power, and possessed an unlimited capacity for making enemies. The conglomeration of these qualities which formed the idiosyncracy of the man also formed the basis for both his achievements and his later downfall.

Physically, Baker was short but stout, very healthy and strong, and impressive rather than attractive. He was born in London in 1836 and there are conflicting accounts of his early youth (see Rutherford 1971:1-5). One version states that at the age of sixteen 'he found the alluring gold fever so strong that he ran away from them in the old land, hid himself as a stowaway on board a ship for Australia' (Roberts 1924:12), and tried his hand at gold mining in Victoria. In 1855 he had become a teacher at a Wesleyan school on the goldfields in the Castlemaine district. He was ordained a Wesleyan minister in 1860, and was sent to Tonga as a missionary, arriving there on 14 August 1860.

Soon after Baker's arrival in Tonga, a very firm friendship developed between him and King George. This friendship, according to Baker's daughters, became a source of annoyance to the senior ministers. Besides requesting Baker to draft the 1862 Code of Laws, the King sought his advice on the design for a Tongan flag, and in 1864 Baker made a formal presentation of a flag to the King and his chiefs (L. and B. Baker 1951:8). In 1866 he was forced to return to Australia on account of his wife's ill health.

In his letters to the Committee in Sydney during his first term in Tonga, Baker rightly pointed out that the root of most of the troubles in the mission could be traced to the paternal and somewhat out-of-date attitudes of the older misionaries. He claimed

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1879-1880]

which he did not emerge unscathed; and even on these he was fortunate that many of the Tongan witnesses called by Maudslay failed to appear. This was hardly surprising when the reluctance of Tongans to give evidence at a public inquiry against a person in Baker's position is recognized. During the three weeks of the inquiry Baker was speaking at church meetings, enlarging upon what he called Tonga's danger of annexation and also making difficulties for any witnesses who might appear on Maudslay's behalf. There was nothing to substantiate the allegation that Baker was connected with the German firm or had received any emoluments from it. Trood, Godeffroy's manager, emphatically denied this.

Baker placed much emphasis in his final address upon his repudiation of the charges of using political influence. His boastful statements, actually, gave enough evidence of political activities to justify condemnation by his Church which strictly forbade missionaries to engage in these. He was in fact a self-confessed offender against the laws of his Church. These were his concluding statements:

> "That I have great influence with the Tongan Government I don't deny; that I designed their flag, I admit; that at the king's request I compiled the original draft of the Constitution, I admit; that at his request I assisted him in reference to the laws, I admit; that I corrected the proof copies of the laws, I admit; that at his request I planned the present system of police courts and debtors' court and a system of registration, I admit; that so long back as 1862 I drew out the charter of their liberty, I admit; that I was editor of the *Po'opo'oi* and *the Tonga Times*, I admit; that I have used influence to compel, or to enforce, or to interfere, I deny; I have given my opinion, but I have never pressed my views either on the king or on the chiefs, which His Majesty's letter to the committee proves." (62)

Baker printed a lengthy report ("Resume") of the commission's inquiry and circulated this widely among the members of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference which met in January 1880 to consider the commission's findings. The event showed that Baker's published "Resume" did not affect the decision of the Conference. Baker's recall stood.

Why was Baker recalled? Was there any truth in his statement,

> "It is because of my expressed opposition to the annexation of Tonga to Fiji that I am thus wanted out of the way." (64)

Britain had never proposed annexation. Irresponsible statements on the subject had appeared in Fiji newspapers but Britain's policy, though opposed to German ambitions in Tonga, was always clear at this point.

The policy of the Wesleyan Mission was just as free from any approval of annexation; as Chapman wrote to Osborne in London, "If the king thought that the missionaries whom he has loved and trusted so long could be brought to sympathize with that object, he would spurn them as traitors".(65)

Minns knew that Baker was taking refuge in the excuse that he was defending Tonga against British annexation:

> "This representation of the designs of the English Government is without doubt simply a dodge to remain in Tonga and laugh at the Committee and the Conference." (66)

Baker was not being made a martyr in the cause of Tonga's independence. He was recalled by his Church as the climax to the dissatisfaction that repeated events of the previous ten years had provoked and as the consequence of his continuous breach of Church rules against missionaries engaging in political activities. He had offered to withdraw from Tonga in December 1878, as he had several times before, and he had afterwards done nothing. On 6 January 1880 he again wrote to the President of the Conference stating his decision to leave Tonga.(67)

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1885-1886]

designed to crush the Wesleyans. Perhaps the worst feature was the interpretation of "genuine inhabitants"; Wesleyans had to prove that their fathers and paternal grandfathers had lived in a village to establish their own *bona fides* as inhabitants there.

Meanwhile Moulton had abated the spate of circulars calling upon Wesleyans to stand firm in terms which the General Conference deputation considered embarrassing. He was, however, still indefatigable in visiting his beleaguered people in the villages. His presence and his pulpit powers had a heartening effect, but he was becoming more and more a handicap to his own cause. He maintained a stream of letters to the Premier calling his attention to frequent breaches of the laws by the courts, and other manifestly oppressive acts against the Wesleyans. His vigilance and his bitter protests met with no response from Baker, except an occasional reply that the law courts could be applied to; these courts were, very clearly, doing the reverse of serving the ends of impartiality and justice. Moulton's persistence proved an irritant and brought no relief. It would have been much better for his followers, and himself, if he had left the scene of wretched strife. His indiscreet young colleague, E. E. Crosby, also had damaged the Wesleyan cause in a preface he wrote to a published account of the persecutions:

> "King George is now considerably over 80 years of age, and his intellectual powers have been decaying for some time and he is completely under the sway of his Premier." (61)

It was only to be expected that Wesleyan Church properties no longer in use would revert to the Government. Where they were still maintained by a handful of worshippers these people were required by the usual laws to cut the grass and keep the property tidy. In Vava'u, where there were only six Wesleyans left in the whole island, it was a sheer impossibility to comply with the law; and prosecutions, with fines and imprisonment, followed. There seemed no escape for the luckless Wesleyans under these conditions.

In 1886 thirty-seven students from Tupou College were called to serve in the militia; none was called from the Government College. Each student called up was required to swear an oath of obedience, but neither the conditions of the oath nor the length of service were stated. Upon Tupou College recruits objecting to swear such an undefined oath they were court-martialled. In one case two lads were acquitted, whereupon the Premier sent a note ordering the magistrate to try the students again and to sentence them to two years' imprisonment. Evidence to this effect was given to Sir Charles Mitchell.

Baker's mind during the years 1885-6 was occupied not only with his campaign against the Wesleyans. He had political opposition, emanating chiefly from Tungi's party in the Mu'a district. Basil Thomson, then a young civil servant in Fiji, visited Mu'a in 1886 and noted that Baker was unpopular because he

> "treated the chiefs as negligible, like commoners. . . . I heard enough in Mu'a to convince me that the people, not the old Wesleyans only, were reaching the end of their tether and that an explosion of some kind, not against the king but against Baker, was imminent." (62)

Baker was concerned also about the state of the king's health and he was apprehensive about what might follow his death. The question of succession to the throne, now that 'Unga and Ngu had died, could divide the nation. Baker's own position could be imperilled. He felt that he must seek support for the coming crisis. He sought it from Germany.

/17 cont./

177 strength of the natural Tongan self-assurance must be mentioned /18/
181 which (like the rest of their typical character traits) probably
829 grew out of blood characteristics, historical development, and the life style of this people, and was nourished by their enduring, generally peaceful, carefree life on the islands, even during the European intrusion. (4)

[69]

4. Even the civil-war-approximating confusion that ended in 1852 did not affect all the islands of the Archipelago to the same degree; aside from the high points of fighting, it was not very intense and was broken by rather long peaceful intervals.

177 Their self-assurance increased or sought strong support in the follow-
181 ing facts: The Tongans (with certain limitations) have kept their
186 own small kingdom, and their awareness of not being a colony fills
563 them with pride; the Whites living in Tonga, while observing a
565 certain distance, have not taken any racially discriminatory actions; many Tongans, with their skin color brown in comparison with the dark-skinned natives familiar to them in the Solomon Islands and in Fiji, feel closer to Europeans and today largely reject the term "native" for a Tongan; (5)

5. For example, the designation "Tongan medical practitioner" /cited in English/ was introduced in place of "native medical practitioner" /cited in English/.

to a certain extent, the commoners' progressive "liberation" from dependence on their chiefs during the past nine decades (6)

6. It is regarded as a matter of natural courtesy no longer to call commoners (tu'a) as such in their presence.

has contributed to this general assertion of self-assurance, as has the commoners opportunity of advancement in various professions (clergyman, teacher, physician, salaried employee) resulting from this development, and the growing opportunities [ranging] from acquiring

/18 cont./

European goods to the accumulation of material "wealth" (through copra production, trade); the dissemination of the Christian teaching of the equality of all men before God may have also buttressed the Tongans' self-assurance in the presence of Europeans. Among some of these natives the conviction that they will never be able to become "like the Europeans" may probably also have led them to cling to their ancient self-assurance, realizing as they did the values of their Tongan culture. (7)

7. Perhaps the attitude of the Crown Prince and Prime Minister Tungi should also be understood in this sense; along with all the intensive Europeanizing plans for his country, and after completion of his studies in Sydney, he again dresses in the Tongan vala (a cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching to above the knees, often down to the ankles) and the ta'o-vala (a fine, plaited mat slung over the upper part of the vala like a wide belt); he recommends this apparel (along with the customary European shirts) for all Tongan government employees, and likewise promotes other Tongan customs that seem important in his eyes.

Along with this strong self-assurance the Tongan has maintained a certain conservative attitude. The natives, though flexible and open to everything new, nonetheless cling very much, sometimes downright rigidly, to parts of their ancient life style and their tradition. /19/ For example, in covering a house with sheet metal, they go to great trouble to build ancient Tongan round ends and reshape the metal accordingly. On the smaller islands at any rate, Tongans who own a bed, a table and a chair sleep on a mat, sit on the floor and eat with their fingers. Every Tongan can procure tea, coffee, cocoa, lemonade and so on, but the kawa drink is still in the center of all social gatherings and is consumed now at least as much as in the past.

The majority of Tongans are today just as goodnatured, happy,

/52 cont./

291 be uncomfortable. They adhere to this not so much because of the law, but because they realize that the shirt means civilization, an approximation of the respected world of the whites, and that the naked torso /53/ is something "barbaric." (129)

[126] [123] 129. The author had difficulty, in photographing Tongans, to persuade them to remove their shirts, for they did not want to look "like savages"; when they go fishing, many Tongans enter the water fully clothed, that is, with shirt and vala.

[186] [565] The vala owes its firmly entrenched position, however, not only to a certain national pride, but also to the fact that it has become an article of clothing of the commoners who were once underprivileged.

291 177 [752] The Tongans usually go barefoot, as in olden times. Some natives wear shoes after a foot injury, to let the wound heal, and today there are also some young Tongans on the small islands as well as in the seaports who wear white tennis shoes, only because they find it "nice," because it looks "European," whereas some employees in the government and in the large department stores like to wear leather sandals. Most Tongans also still go bareheaded. Only now and then they wear old felt hats, sun helmets and hats plaited of halved coconut palm leaves; (130)

130. For example, simple-shaped hats that college students like to make, and others that imitate certain European models (tata faka-polisi=police caps, helemiti=sun helmets).

sometimes they also wrap a cloth around their heads as a protection against the sun, just as people formerly protected themselves against the sun's rays, for example, on the plantations and on the sea, with various kinds of head coverings. (131)

131. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 167; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

/93 cont./

361 178 remote from their corresponding villages. Here, for a few days, weeks or months (sometimes also years) live those men (seldom with their families) who wish to devote themselves intensively to their remote plantations, who give up the social life of the village and take the trouble to go the long distance to church. This is a development, though not a significant one, since it is very limited.

[565] Only Mu'a on Tongatapu was already at that time probably a village-like settlement of various chiefs. (268)

268. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 7; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage.../cited in English/ p. 285.

361 669 178 [712] [777] During the civil wars (1797-1852) the people of most of the islands sought refuge in fortified places and soon became accustomed to living together in townlike settlements, especially since, after the Christianization of the Archipelago (1826-1852), this made frequent church-going much easier. In the beginning, these newly formed villages /94/ seem to have been rather well kept. (269)

[113] 269. Compare J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78; the same, Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Oceanie...Histoire du Voyage /Voyage to the South Pole and Oceania...Account of the voyage/. vol. IV. Paris 1842. pp. 138, 153, 352; Th. West, Ten years in South-Central Polynesia... /cited in English/ London 1865. p. 44.

361 177 182 Their deterioration set in during the growing European influences which very much decreased the natives' interest in various tasks once carefully and intensively carried out, and which, of course, also caused various Tongan crafts to die out or become crude.

However, this deterioration of the settlements is only external. 621 186 The feeling of solidarity, the community consciousness of the Tongans seems as strong as in old times. It may even have grown as a result

/94 cont./

621 of their common life in the villages. In some respects the village
[189] community seems to be one large family. True, every household has
[592] its own separate dwelling in the village. But the household is by
621 no means isolated in the community. For example, if a villager of the
425 small islands needs any sort of object, be it a particular mat of a chicken or even a pig or a horse, he will ask a fellow-villager for it and will receive it without a direct service in return. This is the old system of "reciprocal insurance," for tomorrow the giver may be a
[576] suppliant. It is a rule of courtesy to grant the suppliant his wish, just as it is an unwritten law never to take unfair advantage of this
421 mutual aid. The concept of property and right of ownership is far
425 less developed than in Europe. Perhaps the chief's power of disposal
[565] over the property of commoners in ancient Tonga is one reason for this;
[198] another reason may be the common production (that is, with the coopera-
[496] tion of several villagers) of essential things such as houses, boats,
[177] tapa and mats. It is at any rate interesting that European influences
[436] were never capable of eradicating this ancient custom of natural material assistance, through the introduction of money. On the small
621 islands very few natives sell their products to their fellow-villagers,
432 and they are not exactly highly respected for doing so. On Tongatapu
554 and Vava'u the influx of money is, of course, greater, especially in
177 the seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. But even in these small cities
436 every inhabitant can at least go to every other for a meal if he does
632 not happen to have prepared one for himself.
[571]

186 In these towns, as on the small islands, the feeling of solidarity
621 unites the natives even beyond the divisive influence of the denomina-
795 tions. It often happens, for example, that Protestants and members of
794 other churches give money for the collections of the Catholic congregations and vice versa.

476 /95/ Even "reciprocal insurance" also applies to work assistance,

/95 cont./

476 for a person may ask one or more fellow-villagers (aside from relatives) to help with difficult undertakings on the plantations, in house building or boat building. In general, everyone complies with such a request, and the work is not paid, but usually acknowledged only with [621] a good earth-oven meal. Here too community feeling is stronger [177] than European influences. Thus, in December 1951 on Nomuka, many 476 Tongans of the "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" /cited in English/ 571 helped their fellow villagers of the "apostate" "Church of Tonga" to 794 make cement tiles for a new church building; even the pastor of the 795 Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga took part in this work, and the brass 533 bands of his church provided music for the construction work of the "apostates."

186 The far-flung kinship of the villagers among each other on many 181 islands is an important, though by no means the sole, cause of this solidarity. It is rooted above all in the particular Tongan character [178] traits of good nature and gregariousness, and is strengthened and 443 cultivated by tradition. Even the Tongan traders with their small 181 shops which, as a result of their European-like way of doing business, 178 could be a foreign body in the community, sometimes yield to old [477] customs. Thus it often happened on Nomuka, for instance, that a merchant who had run out of certain articles asked his competitor for them and successfully sold them.

476 The more casual joining together of several villagers in a work project for one of them often takes on a more permanent form by becoming a sort of cooperative organization for mutual aid. For instance, five men may agree to found such a work group, a kautaha, in order to cultivate their plantations. On the first day, all five will work for number one on his land, then for number two, and so on. During this rotation no further member is taken on; however, for the next round they are often willing to increase the number of participants.

/109 cont./

642 [641] [646] [651] of the people was established. At the same time the poll tax and the leases on land were determined. This form of government, however, did not seem at first to function like its European counterpart. The [646] sessions of parliament were held very irregularly, with interruptions lasting for years.

642 177 On November 4, 1875 Tonga obtained its proper constitution which was drawn up after the British model (constitutional monarchy). It consists of a declaration of rights (freedom of life, property, belief, etc.), the establishment of a government (sovereign, council of state, cabinet, legislative assembly and judiciary) and the regulation of landed property. Despite many subsequent improvements, [178] [527] this constitution forms the principal foundation of the Tonga state to this day, and November 4th is observed each year by everyone as a [186] national holiday. At the same time the Kingdom of Tonga adopted its [official] seal and flag. This constitution was worked out for the Tongan ruler by British Wesleyan missionaries, especially Shirley Baker.

645 177 Shirley Baker soon became prime minister of Tonga. He held this office from 1880 to 1890. That year the British High Commissioner deported him to New Zealand, for the English had felt for a long time that he was a disturbing element in the political development of the Southwest Pacific, because of his strongly independent manner of administration.

648 [645] Under the influence of Shirley Baker a treaty was signed on November 1, 1876, between the Tongan government and the German Empire. In the accord the Germans recognized George I and the independence of Tonga, while the Tongans gave the Germans the right to trade and of a marine coaling station on Vava'u. (304)

304. As early as 1855, through the governor of Tahiti, a treaty was imposed between France

795 /252 cont,/ In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid
794 (or at the instigation?) of his Premier, the former Wesleyan mission-
643 ary Shirley Baker, tried to obtain Tongan autonomy for this church.
[645] When he was denied this, George founded the Wesleyan Free Church of
[797] Tonga, alongside of which the Wesleyan Church continued to exist. In
1923/24, under the influence of Queen Salote Tupou, it was decided to
unite the two churches under the name of Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga.
795 The majority of Tongans joined this church, while some of the natives
794 remained faithful to the Wesleyan Free Church (first known as
Continuing Free Church, then as Free Church of Tonga). But in this
[508] church, too, differences of opinion arose, which evidently pertained
to its white president, and a group split off and in 1928 founded the
Church of Tonga.

795 The three Wesleyan churches in Tonga show scarcely any differences
508 in dogma. Their division is based on administrative disputes, some of
the reasons for which lie in the pride and self-assurance of the Tongans
who would like to control their church and its finances themselves.
[643] The present Queen Salote, in her not quite successful attempt to unite
the churches (1923/24), was drawn into the dispute to the extent that
some Tongans of the minority Wesleyan churches blame her for this
step and sometimes even come to some not altogether valid conclusions
/253/ /saying/, for example, that "all this confusion comes from Her
Majesty the Queen." Yet, although the seven denominations in Tonga
are rivals and are pleased whenever a new member from another church
comes over to them, and although there is occasional unfriendliness,
especially between Wesleyans and Catholics, there is nevertheless no
open and bitter opposition to be observed. Rather, there is a quiet
and rigid insistence on the different points of view. And the old
[186] community feeling of the Tongans still outweighs the seven ecclesias-
tical divisions of the people. Many natives take it for granted that
Wesleyan, for example, give donations when money is collected for

/253 cont./

796 Along with a doubtlessly often felt inner need, there is also a desire
794 to be seen in public and to enjoy the reputation of being a good
(626) Christian, which plays an important part in this church attendance, and the number of Tongans who believe that with this frequent attendance at services (and with their prayers at home) they are doing enough for their welfare on this earth and for their salvation is probably not insignificant. This attitude, however, is probably less Tongan than typically human, and the Tonga Archipelago is doubtless not exceptional among the rest of the Christian countries of the world. Yet it seems noteworthy that these rather casual human beings to whom the European time sense is so foreign should attend church services so regularly.
(152) The majority of them seem to listen devoutly and with wholehearted feeling to the sermon and try to experience within themselves the biblical passages discussed, /255/ so that, like the preacher, they
(533) often have tears in their eyes. Their singing of the hymns is loud and fervent. They are, at any rate, convinced that they are real
(186) Christians, (679)

(527) (461)

679. Strange, though probably understandable with the Old Testament bias of the Methodists, is the attitude of the Wesleyan Tongans to Sundays and to the important church holidays. While on Sunday a strict rest from work is observed, at Easter, Good Friday and the Christmas days they simply attend the services and then work at various activities that seem necessary. On the first Christmas day in 1951 on Nomuka working Tongans were questioned and gave the following explanation: "Sunday is the Lord's day of rest, and Christmas is only the birthday of His Son."

and are proud of the fact that they are good church-goers, and they speak disdainfully of worldly and disbelieving whites with whom they have become acquainted during the present decades, especially during
∞∞ the last World War (troops on Tongatapu). Although the younger

/281 cont./

871 177 The adoption of European book-learning as well as the excessive amount of theoretical knowledge have not heretofore had a negative effect because Tonga is independent in its domestic policy; there is no discrimination against, much less suppression of, native intelligence by whites. The Tongans realize that the possibilities for applying their knowledge, their education, are limited by natural conditions (the smallness of their kingdom), and that they are not deliberately held back by a European administration. On the contrary, the British [659] [463] protectorate authority seeks to raise their level through the training of Tongan physicians, teachers and administrative officials. And therein lies the visible benefit of their adoption of European knowledge: The Tongans have to a certain extent learned to administer their state in the European manner, so that they may exist in the midst of a Europeanized world.

7. The Attitude of the Tongans to the Change in their Culture

829 The majority of Tongans, both in the chief towns as well as the villages of the large and small islands of the Archipelago accept the changes in their way of life and their culture not only as something to be taken for granted and unalterable, but something they even welcome [563] and try to promote. None of the natives resists this development, and there is no hostility against Europeans.

829 177 186 Most of them see in the life style of the whites an ideal worth striving for; they would like to know as much, be able to do as much, be as neat and prosperous as they are. Yet, despite this wish, the Tongans are not giving up their own nature, their old point of view which was so typical even at the time they were discovered. With considerable self-assurance they face Europeans and have a pride which in the community increases to a national consciousness. In general they adopt from the

/281 cont./

829 177 [186] whites only what seems good to them and are by no means uncritical--insofar as circumstances make criticism possible for them. Faced with the superiority of European materials and the European mind they maintain ease and equanimity.

/282/ To be sure, most Tongans feel that their way of life is poor compared to the high material and intellectual standard of Europeans. [565] But they accept this as a fact and do not seem burdened by it, especially since they are all, nobles as well as commoners, on the same level and actual comparisons with the European way of life are very rare or indeed quite impossible.

829 177 178 The majority of natives are not at all aware of the fact that their culture is no longer pure and aboriginal, but rather a mixed culture which contains much that for the Tongan is actually useless and merely "imitation." There is no resigned looking-back to ancient Tongan culture and history, (760)

[769]

760. The ruins of grave sites (tombstones, "langi") of the ancient Tongan supreme rulers (Tu'i Tonga) at Mu'a/Tongatapu are for the most part overgrown. and in the midst of two old stone monuments on the island of Nomuka/Ha'apai there is even kape planted.

but rather affirmation of the present and anticipation of the future. (761)

761. Only a few chiefs regret the decline of those customs which once stressed their social rank so clearly.

Many natives, however, have the painful feeling that the Tongan can never become "like the European." Very few conclude, on the basis of this, consciously to preserve their ancient Tongan cultural heritage alongside the adopted European /culture/ and to unite it with the latter. The majority of the people, however, do this quite unconsciously.

[184] [369] There is a certain difference between the attitude of the population

/282 cont./

829 184 369 177 178 in the villages and the seaports. The Tongans of the village settlements, especially on the small islands, seem to be passive. They approve of the development, they have a certain pride in their admiration and respect for the competence and the mind of the whites, even though they remain self-assured. The "urbanized" Tongans living in the principal towns have somewhat more contact with Europeans and their world, and are more lively and flexible. They too take an affirmative attitude toward the development because they see its necessity and its usefulness, and they are always interested in learning from whites. Yet they do not necessarily believe in the unselfishness and sincerity of all Europeans, but often critical of them. Many value the whites merely as advisers and teachers who open up for Tonga the material and technical facilities of Europe and who can also develop education, hygiene and administration to such an extent that the standard of the small kingdom can be raised and it can assert itself in the world; they reject a leadership role of [186] Europeans. These natives often show a rather marked patriotism; they are proud of their own small kingdom and of /283/ the fact that their Archipelago is the only one in the Pacific that has remained an independent state. Some of them are anxious to increase the political freedom of their country.

829 177 178 [186] In general, therefore, it may be said of the Tongan attitude toward their development that scarcely anyone longs for the past, for the ancient Tongan way of life. Many realize the value of their own culture and point to it with a certain pride, and some also try consciously to preserve it. But on the whole they willingly and happily affirm the progressive change of Tongan culture and only unconsciously impede it by certain conservative tendencies and a pronounced inclination towards equanimity.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

tent under tabu, but this restriction, although observed while he was in sight, had evidently no great weight with them, for when he was gone they came crowding in as before.

Friendly Disposition of the Natives.—The friendly disposition of the Tonga Islanders is worthy of remark. Immediately upon our arrival, nearly every one who went on shore had his particular friend. I was adopted by a chief named Julius, who exchanged names with me, and was very particular in making me understand that I must apply to him for anything I might require, and regularly came down to meet me when I landed, always wishing that I should go and dine with him. They showed great attention in this respect to all the officers who went on shore, taking them to their houses when they came back from shooting, laying out before them boiled fowls, yams, cocoa-nuts, and bananas, and frequently, when a whole party had dined in this way at one place, some other natives would come who had also prepared a dinner for them, and be greatly disappointed upon finding that they had been already entertained, trying to tempt them to eat more by bringing what they had prepared and spreading it out before them.

King George's Flag.—At the time of our visit the Tongaese had no distinguishing flag, the chiefs ornamenting their canoes with long streamers made with pieces of coloured cotton arranged according to fancy, and it was suggested to the king that he should have a national flag. Since this, he has been to the missionaries and requested that they would prepare one for him, which I hear they have done, and it is described as follows:—"It has occurred to us, that a fit emblem of the past history of Tonga might be a club and a bow and arrows, showing the warlike character of the people. For its present Christian state we select the emblem of a dove with an olive branch, and for the natural state of Tonga, and the bounty of Divine Providence, we fix upon the cocoa-nut tree, as affording so many and various articles for meat and drink and building and furniture."

Proposed Trade between Tongatabu and New Zealand.—There has been some attempt to establish a trade in cocoa-nut oil between these islands and New Zealand. It was proposed that King George should collect sufficient cocoa-nut oil to freight a small schooner, which was to be sent from New Zealand when the cargo should be ready for it. The oil was then to be sold, and the vessel purchased for the king with the proceeds. This plan does not seem to have been met very warmly by the king, who, I believe, once had a vessel of this description, but having lost her, he has given up the idea of trading, saying that he is tired of trying to get rich, remarking that if one of his large canoes is lost he can easily get another from the Feejees; that he wants nothing among his